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Foreign Affairs: The Seeing Eye

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS—What our Government calls "the intelligence community" is regarded as sordid by some embarrassed Americans who still, to an endearing but impractical degree, continue to cherish the innocence of their forefathers. To them, C.I.A. is a dirty word and any organization even tangentially touching it is held thereby to be tarnished.

The origin of this attitude can be traced to our ancestors who fled the distant outer world, venerated George Washington's insistence on avoiding connections abroad, and, through the isolationist movement, resented a 20th-century policy of intervention. Many Americans still think foreigners and the devil can be escaped by hiding.

Not Necessarily Nests

The C.I.A. and its immediate predecessors were incubated during the cold war when Stalinism sought to subvert Europe and the United States had no organization with which to combat such efforts. The financing of certain student, labor union, propaganda and cultural groups started in that atmosphere. The fact that such groups received funds otherwise not available to attend international meetings or to fight penetration didn't necessarily mean they were agents' nests.

Some remaining ties from that cold war period might well shed such C.I.A. connections. Undoubtedly the thrust toward

investigating C.I.A. links with nonofficial groups will expose relationships that may shock innocents still greatly influenced by our provincial and puritanical heritage.

While O.S.S. veterans were studying British intelligence with a view to creating the C.I.A., a special service called the Office of Political Control, or O.P.C., was already functioning and using nonofficial help to combat cold-war pressures.

Foreign friends of the American labor movement helped fight Communism in trade unions and also garnered information for Washington. One particularly useful source was the International Transport Federation which collected material from European train crews, dock workers and seamen. This may surprise many Americans but should not shock them. It is naive to support a Central Intelligence Agency while asking it not to do its job.

United States diplomacy and intelligence have sometimes intervened in political affairs abroad. They helped support the third force which initiated the French Fourth Republic. They worked strongly for Italy's Christian Democrats in the critical 1948 election. They worked against Mossadeh in Iran and Arbenz in Guatemala but such acts were scarcely contrary to U.S. interests.

Nothing is gained by comparing intelligence functions in our

own open society with those of Russia's closed society. A better standard is the role of intelligence in France and England. During the Fourth Republic France's ardently democratic if mature equivalent of J. Edgar Hoover casually told me that my telephones were tapped, neither an abnormal nor particularly menacing phenomenon here where foreign journalists can sometimes hear the audible *table d'écoute*.

When allied delegations went to Moscow for the 1947 foreign ministers' meeting, British "diplomats" included technicians armed with equipment to detect hidden listening devices in their embassy and French "diplomats" included youthful White Russians who could mingle with university students while keeping their ears open.

British Intelligence

Some years ago the British minister who handled liaison between the Cabinet and intelligence confided: "We only hire newspapermen in the Middle East." When I was running The New York Times Foreign Service, two British brigadiers from intelligence separately asked me for journalistic jobs. One subsequently joined a London paper. Kim Philby skipped off to Russia from a journalistic post in Beirut.

Intelligence sometimes mixes unpleasantly in facets of society that imagine themselves pure. The C.I.A. has set up trading

companies, air lines and special funds to handle particular jobs. But provincial prigs should bear in mind Britain's experience which shows that distinguished university figures, for example, can do special intelligence jobs for their Government on particular occasions without endangering British democracy.

Role for Newsmen

It is certainly desirable that trusted sources of political authority or public information should stay clear of contact with intelligence. Soon after our involvement in World War II, the first precursor of O.S.S. asked The New York Times if its foreign correspondents could "help." The request was politely refused.

Although it would be well advised to review connections with nongovernmental bodies and terminate those which are no longer useful, no emotional witch hunt should harass the C.I.A. The American people must remember that in our society an intelligence agency needs help from the private sector which dominates industry, research and technology. It is lunacy to deprive it of such resources.

We may not like it but we are intimately involved in a shrinking outer world that is no longer weeks but minutes away. Part of the adjustment to that unpleasant fact is the need, by intelligence, to know what goes on around us.

Former Student Leaders Deny They Were Trapped by C.I.A.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Past presidents of the National Student Association said yesterday it was "preposterous" and "ridiculous" to describe association officials as having been "trapped" into working for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The charge of entrapment was made Friday in Washington by Sam Brown, a Harvard divinity student who is chairman of the student association's national supervisory board. Mr. Brown said the student officials had been placed under "fantastic pressures" not to disclose the association's link with the C.I.A.

Ex-officers interviewed by phone in various parts of the country largely agreed, however, that while they occasionally had conflicts with C.I.A. agents they willingly took about \$200,000 a year from the agency and felt it was in the best interests of the country and the association to do so.

"It is preposterous to say we were coerced into taking the money," the former president added. "Most people thought it was a good idea, because it gave us the ability to carry out the goals of the organization."

Campus Alienation Cited

A number of former officers said they agreed with the statement last week of W. Dennis Shaul, president of the association in 1962-63.

Mr. Shaul said that the repugnance present officers felt toward the C.I.A. link was the result of diminished cold war tensions, recent revelations of the C.I.A.'s clandestine activities, and increasing alienation among college students toward American Government and institutions.

Mr. Shaul said that students of an earlier generation were more concerned with promoting "the best aspects of America" abroad.

A president in the late nineteen-fifties, who worked for the Government for several years before returning to law school, described his attitude this way:

"Several months after my election I was told by the outgoing president that I was being asked by the president of the United States and the Na-

tional Security Council to cooperate with the C.I.A. I was told that the decision to assist N.S.A. financially had been approved at the highest levels of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. I felt at the time, and I still do, that I would have been a disloyal American to refuse to cooperate."

The former president said his fear of being disloyal did not amount to "coercion."

"My free will was never impinged upon," he said.

"My contacts with the C.I.A. were very sporadic and their requests were usually reasonable," the former president said. "Actually, the C.I.A. was not even very important in terms of our total relationship with the Federal Government."

The law student said the association received money openly from the State Department, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and other Government agencies.

He said he had had two major dealings with the C.I.A. In one case, an agent asked permission to interview association observers who had attended the World Youth Festival in Vienna in 1959. "I agreed as long as the students agreed," he said.

In the other, he said, the intelligence agency advised that a group of Soviet youth coming to the United States on an exchange program be scrutinized carefully.

"They wanted to make sure they were students, not spies," he said.

After completing his term, the former president served as an association representative in Paris. He declared that he had never written reports for the C.I.A. on student activities abroad.

Once in Helsinki, Finland, he recalled, a United States Information Agency officer in the American embassy had asked him questions about student leaders at the youth meeting he was attending.

Another recent president, who maintained he had remained free of C.I.A. influence, said that the relationship with the intelligence agency had nevertheless caused him mental anguish. "It was the worst year of my life," he said.

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EDITORIAL

What Are We Trying to Do to the CIA?

It is just possible, if we all manage to work ourselves into a wild enough lather, that the current flap over the CIA can be escalated to the point where it will destroy the nation's intelligence organization. It almost seems that this is what some of the breast-beaters would like to do.

One day we have a disclosure that a student organization has been receiving covert funds so that young Americans can compete with young Communists at world student meetings. Then, suddenly, nothing will do but that every traceable operation of the CIA must be laid bare to public view, commented upon in tones of pious horror, investigated, sermonized, deplored and punished, until the terrible guilt of it all has been established for all time, for all the world to see.

And what, precisely, are we guilty of? Why, of using our wits and available means to compete in a battle just as real, dirty and deadly serious as any shooting war in which we could engage.

Confronted by adversaries who threw the full power and wealth of the state into the effort to mold and control world opinion, we did not abandon the field to them. Instead, we devoted some public funds to seeing to it that Americans could confront the totalitarians in the intellectual lists abroad, speaking their minds in representing the views of a relatively free society.

It worked, incidentally. A wide variety of Americans, most of whom never knew the source of the funds backing them, proved more than able over the years to hold their own in confrontation with disciplined, professional Communist agents. They prevented the takeover of numerous international organizations and established others which have contributed substantially to the global cause of freedom.

Consider, for example, the experience of Gloria Steinem, as interestingly reported in yesterday's Washington Post.

New York writer, Miss Steinem was director of something called "The Independent Research Service," which took CIA money to send several hundred young Americans to World Youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962.

Miss Steinem said she worked closely with CIA agents on the program, but

that few of the students who took those trips knew that the CIA was picking up the tab.

"I never felt I was being dictated to at all," she said. "I found them (the CIA men with whom she worked) liberal and farsighted and open to an exchange of ideas. . . . They wanted to do what we wanted to do—present a healthy, diverse view of the United States."

She was backed up by Dennis Shaul, another spokesman for the organization, who said: "We had Minnesota school-teachers who were farther right than Bill Buckley as well as members of Students for a Democratic Society. Nobody told them what to do."

Bear in mind, except for such American participation financed by CIA funds, these festivals were completely dominated by Communists, all financed and controlled by their governments. Yet, says Shaul, "The Helsinki festival was a disaster from their point of view, and I think we can take a good deal of credit for that."

Well now, why not? Is this really something that has to be apologized for? Who is corrupted by such an operation? Who would have paid the Americans' expenses if the CIA hadn't?

"The CIA," says Miss Steinem, "was the only (organization) with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important." And here, the lady puts her finger on an important point.

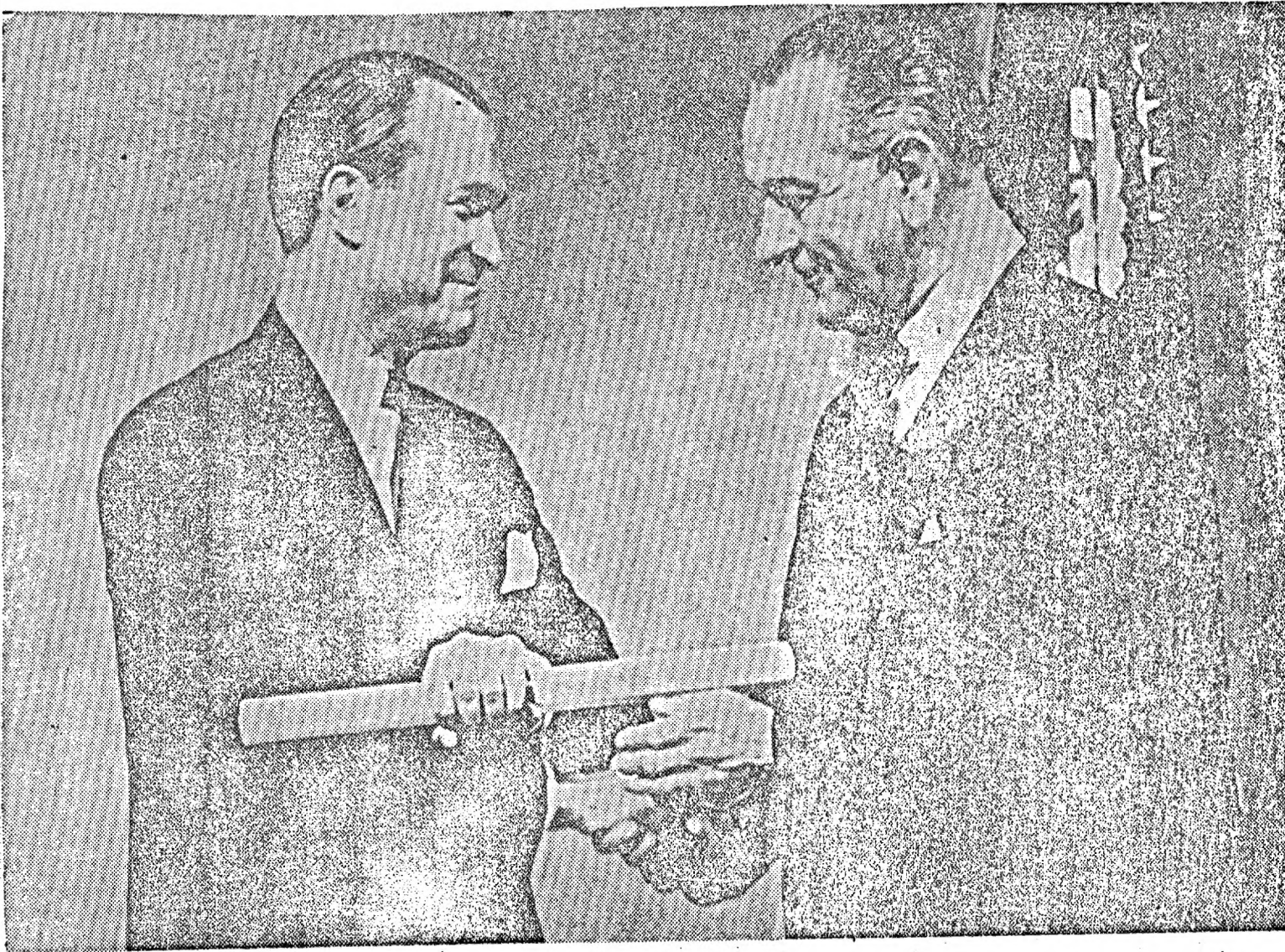
Of course, it would have been better if this sort of thing could have been done without subterfuge. It is too bad that private funds were not available for these purposes. It would have been healthier, lacking such private sources, for our government to have appropriated openly the necessary monies, through the State Department, U.S. Information Agency or some other "respectable" organization. Even though no such alternative may have been available when these programs were initiated in the early 1950s, it would have been advisable to switch them away from CIA support as soon as that became possible.

No one, moreover, can possibly defend all the details of any one of these

messy procedures which, when exposed, prove embarrassing. There is, one inevitably recalls, a saying about making omelettes and breaking eggs.

What is beyond comprehension in all this, however, is the monumental naivete involved in the apparent shock reaction to these disclosures on the part of otherwise knowledgeable people. After all, what have the outraged gentlemen supposed was going on all this time on the sprawling acres out at Langley? Of all the endeavors of the CIA, the effort to create outlets abroad for the expression of American opinion must surely rank as one of the milder. This is not, be it noted, a tea party that we have been engaged in. This is a viciously contested undercover war against shrewd, dedicated enemies who happen to be quite unhampered by nice-Nellie scruples. The need to press this fight has all along been recognized by the top leadership of the country. The procedures that suddenly evoke such outraged reactions were not dreamed up privately by the CIA. They were directed from the top, and properly so.

The idea that an organization like the CIA can conduct its operations while restrained by a sort of daisy-chain of clergymen, den mothers and liberal politicians—such a notion is simply absurd. For our part, we hope that the present hysteria will be calmed with a rational inquiry conducted by responsible and realistic men who have some knowledge of the very serious problems involved. We are inclined to suspect that they, and the public, will end up concluding that the world has not, after all, ended—and that, in doing a job which had to be done, our intelligence organization has not done too badly.



CIA Director Richard Helms is congratulated by President after being sworn in.

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